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This paper investigates a selection of private libraries belonging to seventeenth-century artists living in Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. The contents of the inventories are recorded in inventories and artist biographies. This project elucidates the book-collecting practices of these artists, and how their libraries may have influenced their artistic production.

This paper is an analysis of literature in art history describing the book collections of specific artists. It relies upon the methodologies of collection practice, and the history of art bibliography. The seventeenth-century artists whose collections were surveyed were found to collect books with five primary goals in mind: elevation of social status, increase of intellectual status, increase of technical knowledge, compositional inspiration and assistance with subject matter and iconography. In general, book-collecting by artists was for professional reading, and there are few instances of books collected for recreational reading.

Headings:

Art -- History

Art literature -- Bibliography

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THE PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARTISTS IN ITALY, SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

by
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Contents

Introduction

This paper investigates a selection of private libraries belonging to seventeenth-century artists living in Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. With this research I hope to elucidate the book-collecting practices of these artists, and how their libraries may have influenced their artistic production. Discovering which artists collected books, and which books were collected by artists, will shed light on the history of art bibliography and the reading habits of Early Modern artists.

In the attempt to win recognition and patronage from the upper classes and nobility, Renaissance artists began a transformation from craftsman to virtuoso. A primary facet of this upwardly-mobile progression was superior education, or, failing that, learning later in life. Aside from authoring their own intellectual treatises and spouting pedantic orations in academies, the artist's best indication of learnedness was his private library. Since learning was acquired from books, books and their collections were connected—both on practical and symbolic levels—with the qualities a learned artist should possess.[1] It is legitimate to ask: what do we know about the libraries of the artists and how important a role did they play in their life and work?

In the fifteenth century, the private artist's library was a fantasy; the paucity of books and relative poverty of artists prevented any great collections from forming. In the sixteenth century, matters improved with the advent of the printing press, but it is only in the seventeenth century that we have the confluence of increased book production,

[1] Bialostocki, Jan. "Doctus Artifex and the Library of the Artist in XVIth and XVIIth Century", *De Arte et Libris. Festschrift Erasmus 1934-1984*. Amsterdam : Erasmus Antiquariaat en Boekhandel, 1984., pp. 11-22. Bialostocki's article is the only work on the concept of the artist library as a whole. Other important texts deal with the libraries of individual artists.

aggrandized artist salaries and excellent inventorying practices on the parts of scrupulous family members. In the seventeenth century the artist's library became a common reality, and we have the excellent raw material for a study of what constituted these libraries.

I have identified five main factors that account for the presence and composition of seventeenth-century artist libraries: social status, intellectual status, technical knowledge, compositional inspiration and assistance with subject matter and iconography. With the elevation of craftsman to artist during the Renaissance, highly skilled men of low birth suddenly could obtain a social status valued well above their expectations. All they had to do was paint well, using some ingenuity, and prove their "genius" to their wealthy patrons. Blending in with the upper classes was also paramount, and a personal library was a sign of disposable wealth, intellect and high society.

Seventeenth-century artists often consulted the published technical manuals, such as Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* and Albrecht Dürer's manual on proportion. Books such as these would help artists with the more difficult aspects of their trades, such as mixing colors, modifying textures and drawing traditionally difficult shapes in three-dimensional space. These sorts of books were also handy in a large studio, such as Rembrandt's, in which the master did not have the time to instruct pupils in every nicety of their art.

In the average artist's library of the seventeenth century we find many books with impressive illustrations, often engravings. Since commissioned paintings often had thematic precursors, an artist would turn to the work of past artists to compare treatments of narrative interpretation. Often a particular story could be found in texts of more than

one author, and then artists would have to pick and choose what elements to include in their own works. Living before the age of mass reproduction, books with engraved plates were one of the few ways an artist could see the work of his peers. These books were therefore used by artists as reference, but also, I would like to think, as the means of professional and personal appreciation of the works of other artists.

Ut Pictura Poesis

In the rivalries of the arts, originating with Leonardo's famous *paragone* debates, painting most often found itself vying with literature for a place of artistic primacy.[2] Despite Leonardo's best efforts, literature usually won out over painting and its sister visual arts. Literature had the indelible claim to intellectual superiority, while painting was burdened with the shame of its deceitful nature. A painting of a bird, no matter how beautifully rendered, was, essentially, a lie. Literature traded in truths, painting in lies.

One defense Leonardo constructed for the role of the painter was that he had to be as well-versed in the classics of literature and poetry as any writer. The paintings themselves were lies, but they represented the writer's truths in feats of virtuosity, technical brilliance and superior media. It is partially because of these *paragone* arguments that artists in the Renaissance began to assume the scholarly trappings of writers and poets.

In order to become learned an artist was supposed to acquire a thorough knowledge of poetry and literature, since only such a deep acquaintance with the world of imagination created by writers, both poets and historians, could provide the artist with

dignified and important subject matter. In Dolce's *Aretino* it is formulated in the following words:

> …the painter cannot possibly be in strong command of the elements which relate to invention—as regards both subject matter and propriety—unless he is versed in historical narrative and the tales of the poets. Hence, just as the ability to make designs is extremely useful to a man of letters in those matters which relate to the business of writing, so too in the painter's profession a knowledge of letters can prove most beneficial. The painter may not be in fact a man of letters; but let him at least, as I say, be versed in historical narrative and poetry, and keep in close touch with poets and men of learning.'[3]

Encouraged by painter/theorists such as Paolo Pino, Leonardo and Vasari, Renaissance painters stretched themselves out of the role of mere skilled craftsmen to emerge as well-heeled educated men of distinction. The transformation from craftsman to artist could be an expensive one, what with the fine clothes, luxurious living quarters and fancy dinners. But the one affectation that came to embody best the learned and wise artist was the artist's library.

Rensselaer Lee asserts that it was certain famous comparisons of poetry and painting "in Aristotle and Horace that prompted the critics of painting, who found no real theory of painting in antiquity, to take over the ancient literary theory" completely, and apply it somewhat irresponsibly to an art for which it was not originally intended.[4] Thus the idea of the *doctus artifex* was formed, which determined the theoretical image of the artist in the period in which the humanistic theory of art prevailed.[5] Painters often found it difficult to fit themselves exactly into this image of the cerebral intellectual, as painting is a much more physical and messy activity than writing. Sculptors, doubly doomed to the image of physical laborer, had to overcompensate in order to appear scholarly;

architects were often relegated to the realms of engineering and math, subjects that did not always win points for intellectualism.

Early Art Bibliography

There was no one formula for the perfect artist's library, but several scholars did make attempts at compiling early art bibliographies. In her search for the original art bibliography, Kate Steinitz found a reference to a possible origin in Julius von Schlosser's *Kunstliteratur* (1924). Schlosser insists that attempts of art historical bibliography start rather early. "Among the very first belongs the passage in chap. 24 of Possevinus' *Tractatio de poesi et picture ethica*, Lyon 1595 and the list in Scaramuccia's *Finezze de'pennelli italiani*, Pavia 1674."[6]

Schlosser's selections were written 79 years apart and are entirely different in concept and form. Possevinus was concerned with artists who were also writers on art. He wrote an educational, didactic and moralizing book about them with marginal catchwords, mainly artists' names. Compared to Possevinus's marginal notes, Scaramuccia represents great progress.

Scaramuccia appended two separate lists of books to his 1674 *Finezze de'pennelli italiani*.[7] The first list is called '*Quali i libri piú necessarij per fl'elevati Pittori*' and indicates more generally useful literature: religious, historical and poetical. The second list is limited in its scope and is called '*Catalogo degl'Autori c'hanno scritto di Pittura*.' Some of the books included are Franciscus Junius, Albrecht Dürer, Karel van Mander, Giambattista Marino and the *Handbook of the Perfect Gentleman* by Henry Peacham.[8]

The *Finezze* is an inclusive bibliography of contemporary art books in modern systematic form, but it was not the first of its kind. Steinitz observed a list similar to Scaramuccia's, printed as a prologue to Leonardo's *Trattato della Pittura*. This list had appeared twenty-three years before Scaramuccia's in the first printed edition of Leonardo's *Trattato*, in exactly 1651.

This *Trattato* was edited by Raphael Trichet du Fresne, who evidently deserves the credit for being the compiler of the first modern art bibliography.[9] Steinitz insists that Scaramuccia must have used du Fresne's booklist as a basis for his own list. Scaramuccia added several books that were published after 1651, as well as du Fresne's edition of the *Trattato*.[10] Altogether Scaramuccia lists forty-one books, while du Fresne lists only thirty-six. Roger de Piles appended his own list to du Fresne's *De arte graphica* which he published with the French translation in 1667.[11]

Other art theorists compiled catalogues of ideal libraries painters should possess. Giovan Battista Armenini published a short list in his *De'veri precetti della pittura* of 1587. He recommends the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, Plutarch, Livy, Appian, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Cartari, Ovid, Apuleius and the popular Spanish romance of Amadis de Gaula.[12] A similar list was produced by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* in 1590.[13]

Artist Libraries in Italy

It comes as no surprise that the first artist libraries we have record of were in Italy. The humanistic trends that gave rise to the intellectualization of the artist grew out

of the brainstorming of the Italian Renaissance. However, as discussed above, economic factors simply did not allow many artists to own large libraries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. When we come to the visual material and the inventories of the belongings of the artists, we realize that these artists neither frequently possessed considerable libraries, nor were they willing to portray themselves in the context of books.[14]

The one notable exception, and an extraordinarily rare fifteenth-century case at that, is Lorenzo Ghiberti, sculptor of the famous bronze baptistery doors of Florence's Duomo. Giovanni Aurispa, a collector of ancient manuscripts, wrote in a letter dated 2 January 1430 to the prominent humanist Ambrogio Traversari: "I shall send to Laurentius, that outstanding sculptor, the volume of siege machines [he refers to the work *On Machines* of Athenaeus Mechanicus], but I want in return that ancient Virgil I have always desired to have and the *Orator* and *Brutus*, which seems to me a fair bargain". This means that Ghiberti possessed manuscripts by Virgil and Cicero, coveted by philologists and professional scholars of manuscripts.[15] We find some proof that the above transaction took place, as the opening passages of Ghiberti's *I commentarii* are quotations from Athenaeus' work.[16]

Ghiberti was an exception in more ways than his collection of important manuscripts, however, and these factors mostly account for said collection. Ghiberti's writings, *I commentarii*, which include his autobiography, established him as the first modern historian of the fine arts, and bear witness to his ideal of humanistic education and culture. Furthermore, he was wealthier than most of his contemporary artists, and he owned considerable land and securities.[17] The factors of wealth and education, rarely

seen in artists of his day, enabled him to purchase and read manuscripts that were, in their day, more expensive and unusual than printed books.

The most significant Early Modern artist libraries in Italy were formed in the seventeenth century. Not many inventories of these libraries remain for us to examine, however, the Italians never matching the Dutch as far as keeping track of property was concerned. What we notice first in browsing the few Italian inventories we do have is that the libraries of architects far outstripped those of painters and sculptors in Early Modern Italy.

Architects

Carlo Maderno, Rome's favored black-sheep architect, owned only 24 books, but his is the earliest library of over twenty volumes that we have record of in Italy.[18] Unfortunately, his inventory does not itemize these books, so we are left to ponder their contents. The most coherent and professionally functional Italian *settecento* architect's library is probably that of the little-known Roman architect Paolo Maruscelli. Maruscelli owned 123 books, the itemized list of which was included in the inventory drawn up after his death in 1649. Maruscelli's library included a great number of architectural treatises, works on military architecture and engineering, perspective, geometry and optics, physiognomics and hydraulics, cosmography and pyrotechnics, and even a cook book. His collection also included iconographic handbooks by Cartari and Ripa, typical of many artist libraries, poetry by Petrarch and Ariosto, the *Fioretti* by St. Francis, books on religious history and eight dictionaries, including a Turkish one.

Jan Bialostocki surmises, "that a relatively minor and little-known architect owned an important library is a phenomenon which appears to result from the general lack of correlation between erudition and creativity."[19] This seems to me a harsh criticism, since factors other than greatness at one's chosen profession could afford the means to an exceptional library. So little is known of Maruscelli the architect, so perhaps his money came from family wealth or a prudent marriage, and his predilection to the amassing of a grand library could easily indicate a love of books and learning divorced from his profession.

Borromini, the quintessential favorite *settecento* Roman architect, also had an impressive library. Borromini was described by his biographer Passeri as "a well-educated man, intelligent and assured in his perfect knowledge."[20] Joseph Connors assessed the 1667 inventory made at Borromini's death, where books are only generally mentioned, none being identified by either author or title. Connors has counted 'at least 459 books including 123 folio volumes on architecture.'[21] Rudolf Wittkower mentions the complaint of Don Camillo Pamfili, that "the architect, instead of directing the works at Sant'Agnese, preferred to visit the libraries at Piazza Navona, browsing there *senza porre il piede nella fabbrica*."[22]

There was an abundance of architectural treatises for *settecento* architects to collect, the most famous ones being Vitruvius *De architectura*, Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura* and Sebastiano Serlio's seven-volume *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*. Did Italian *settecento* painters collect similarly? There are certainly reasons why painters would need architectural treatises, primarily the frequent and accurate depiction of three-dimensional

interior space. With architects like Maruscelli owning several iconographic handbooks, traditionally tools of painters, it would appear that artists collected across the broader fields of the visual arts, instead of keeping with their specialty.

Painters

Except for those most highly regarded, like the Carracci, painters were paid less for their services than architects, which partially explains why their libraries were smaller overall than those of architects. Domenichino is the first *settecento* Italian painter to be ascribed a library, though there is no physical proof of its existence. His biographers Passeri and Malvasia stressed Domenichino's predilection for reading, but there is no inventory extant for his death in 1641.[23]

The first partially-itemized *settecento* Italian library belonging to a painter that we have record of was that of Pietro da Cortona. Cortona had an impressive library of 222 volumes, though as the leading painter of the Roman Baroque the size of his collection is not as surprising as it could have been had he been a less successful artist. Cortona was also a co-author of a treatise on art theory, which indicates an interest in books of his trade. The inventory describes the library as being composed mainly of theology, history and *humanitá*. Cicero, Plutarch, Aesop, Martialis, the *Aeneid*, works of Pietro Bembo, Ripa's *Iconologia*, Boccaccio's *Genealogia delli dei*, Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius, Palladio and Vignola are only a few examples of the variety of books in Pietro da Cortona's library.[24]

One of the best-itemized *settecento* Italian painters libraries that we have record of was that of Roman-born Andrea Sacchi. Sacchi's inventory was made upon his death in 1661.[25] While he owned only 54 books at his death, the inventory proved to be well-detailed and immaculately organized. Sacchi's library was highly varied. Strengths existed in religious literature, and there was a wide range of historical literature including *Gli Annali di Cornelio Tacito* (Venice 1563), Baronius's *Indici di sommi pontefici, degli Imperadori et de consoli*, nine volumes of Oderico Raynaldo's *Annales Ecclesiastici* and Enrico Catarino Davila's *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia* (1630).

Sacchi's interests in plants and animals are documented by *La perfettione del Cavallo* of Francesco Liberati and *Flora seu de Florum cultura* by Padre Giovanni B. Ferrari S.J. in 4 volumes. The close study of plants and animals was necessary to Sacchi's profession.[26] Poetry was well-represented with several volumes of Giambattista Marino, Torquato Tasso, Cosellini, Jacopo Sannazaro, Girolamo Preti and Cesare Caporali. Sacchi's library also contains examples of leisure reading. Examples of this genre are the *Romanzo Giallo* and Andreini's *Le bravura del Capitan Spavento* (1609).

Sacchi owned a great deal of books pertaining to his own field, namely *Le Gemme antiche figurate da L. Agostini*, with Bellori's comments, *Genealogia degli dei* by Boccaccio, the luxurious monograph on the Barberini Palace by Hieronimo Tetio Perusino (where Sacchi's frescoes were reproduced), Pietro Stefanoni's *Gemmae antiquitus sculptae* (with frontispiece designed by Sacchi), Villa Borghese described by Jacomo Marilli, a book of *Diversi habiti* (probably that by Vecelli), Cartari's *Imagini degli dei* and the book of plates presenting the *Transportazione dell'Obelisco Vaticano* by C. Domenico Fontana.

The history books, natural history books and art-related treatises are all easily explained by Sacchi's profession. The same could be said for some of the poetry, since countless seventeenth-century patrons demanded renditions of their favorite scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. The novels, however, may have been present purely for the purpose of pleasure reading. This suggests a somewhat disposable income, on an artist's salary, and the leisure time for reading for pleasure, on an artist's ever-busy schedule.

Sculptors

In his introduction to the 1981 publication of Gianlorenzo Bernini's will and post-mortem inventory, Franco Borsi noted that no books were listed there.[27] He concluded that Bernini was an "uomo senza lettere", his learned artistic conceptions the result of research done by others. However, his brother Luigi died in 1681, a year after Gianlorenzo, and the two shared a house. Several scholars surmise that the 169 books itemized after Luigi's death were shared by (or perhaps primarily collected by) Gianlorenzo.[28]

Even Luigi's death inventory lacks books that we know from other sources should have been among Bernini's possessions. Paul Fréart de Chantelou, one of Bernini's two chief biographers, mentions that Bernini had a copy of Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle*, and that it was his practice to read a chapter from Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* to his family each evening. These books are not listed in the 1681

inventory.[29] One could tentatively conclude, therefore, that Luigi's inventory provides only a part of the whole Bernini library.

Bernini's is a library rich in mathematics, mechanics, architecture, and history, one whose titles display an awareness of the astronomical debates of the time. The library is also exceptionally strong in literature, but includes surprisingly little religion and almost no philosophy. The books listed in the 1681 inventory reflect the interests of an architect, engineer and sculptor, as well as those of a painter, *letterato* and courtier.[30]

Some volumes in the library can be directly related to works produced by Bernini. Lelio Guidiccioni's *Racconto della Trasportatione del Corpo di Paolo V,* published in 1623, recounts the funeral ceremonies for the Borghese pope. Bernini produced 36 virtues for Paul V's catafalque; Guidiccioni's publication preserves these ephemeral statues in engravings.

The library also served the needs of Bernini as a renowned courtier with books on the art of comportment and courtly behavior. In addition to copies of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and della Casa's *Galateo,* Bernini owned Possevino's *Dialogo dell'honore,* which explains the grades of nobility and of noble behavior, Fausto da Longiano's *Il Gentilhuomo,* and Lorenzo Ducci's *Arte Aulica,* which explains ways that the courtier can gain and retain the favor of his prince.[31]

Philosophy was in short supply in Bernini's library, and was generally mediated through translation and commentary. These volumes include Lodovico Dolce's *Somma* and Panfilio Persico's *Breve dichiaratione,* both concerning the philosophy of Aristotle. There is also Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Symposium,* and the hugely popular *Segreto dei segreti,* a philosophical compendium alternately attributed to Aristotle and Albertus

Magnus. Some of the ancient history texts included Livy, Flavius Josephus, Quintus Curtius and Julius Caesar, while more recent history was represented by Francesco Guicciardini, and church history by Baronius's *Annali* and Platina's *Vite* of the popes.

Bernini's library is rich in encyclopedic accounts of world history and human behavior. These books are typical products of the diffusion of print, essentially literary equivalents of *wunderkammern*. These titles range from Gaspare Bugati's *Historia universale* to Doglione's customs, law and behavior of people from Ethiopia to India. Tomaso Garzoni's *Piazza universale* defines dozens of different professions by quoting from ancient and modern authors.

Texts on geometry and mechanics, crucial to the work of an architect, were represented by Commandino, Guidobaldo del Monte, Tartaglia and Agricola. Also included were Ramelio, Branca and Galileo, the latter represented by three works, one a manuscript copy of his *Mecchaniche*. Twelve copies of this manuscript survive; the presence of such a manuscript in the Bernini library may suggest a personal link with Galileo and perhaps with the infamous Accademia dei Lincei.[32]

Books on the movement of water, among them Michelini, Barratteri and Castello, would have been essential reference works for Gianlorenzo in his capacity as architect to the Acqua Vergine, a post he held from 1629, and for Luigi as Architect of the Waters under Alexander VII. An interest in practical mechanics expands in other directions consistent with Bernini's biography. Nicola Sabbatini's 1638 volume stood on the shelf between the architectural treatises of Palladio and Serlio. The Sabbatini could have provided Bernini with inspiration for the notorious and surprising effects of his plays; Sabbatini explained how to make a figure appear to be burning on the stage, how to make

mountains materialize or clouds go up and down, and how to turn a person to stone.[33] Proving Bernini's dedication to the study of architecture, aside from Palladio and Serlio, there were three copies of Vitruvius, along with Vignola and Labacco. On the related subject of fortifications, one finds the standard work by Buonaiuto Lorini, *Le fortificationi*.

Technical treatises appropriate to the sculptor, Bernini's first profession, include Dürer's *Della simmetria dei corpi humani*, François Perrier's visual index of ancient statuary, and Agricola's advice on founding. Although not a painter, Bernini owned a fine copy of Lomazzo, and to pursue the study of perspective and optics he could consult Accolti, Sirigatti and Vignola. Bernini's interest in telescoping effects, evident in his late architecture, would have found inspiration here.[34] In fact, we know that he pursued further reading on the subject in the celebrated library of the Minims at Santa Trinità dei Monti, whose halls are graced by the world's most famous anamorphic images.[35]

A copy of Manzini's *L'Occhiale all'occhio* in the library suggests a possible interest in astronomy. Although Bernini is not normally considered in the context of scientific virtuosi, the presence of Manzini along with two volumes of the Augustinian Bonaventura Cavalieri, Galileo's manuscript on mechanics, and a copy of his *Dialogo…sopra i due massimi sistemi*, indicates more than a casual interest in the debate concerning the Copernican and Tychonic systems. The presence of these books in Bernini's library supports Irving Lavin's speculation that, with his design made in 1652 for the frontispiece of Nicola Zucchi's *Optica Philosophica*, Bernini engaged directly with the Galilean controversy.[36]

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of Bernini's library, compared to the libraries of other seventeenth-century artists, is the literary richness. Of the 169 titles mentioned, 68 fall into the category of what we would call literature—poetry, drama, romance and adventure. In addition to the favored stand-bys of Ovid, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto and Count Boiardo, Bernini read Sansovino, Aretino, Sanazzaro, Tassoni and Pulci, and as Howard Hibbard suspected, many volumes of the poetry of Giambattista Marino.[37] In addition, Bernini could cultivate his theatrical interests with the tragedies of Decio and Manzini, and the satires of Boccalini.

Truly it is this literature collection that makes Bernini's library stand out from those of his Roman artist peers. Whereas the libraries of Maderno, Maruscelli and Durante Alberti are replete with technical writings, treatises, iconographical dictionaries and lives of saints, the Bernini library is a hybrid of scientific and technical writings and *belles lettres.* Perhaps if Sacchi had been as wealthy as Bernini, his literature collection could have compared, but few artists in history were ever paid as well as Bernini. In fact, Bernini's library shares more in common with that of his wealthy and noble patron Agostino Chigi.[38] Bernini generated his library not so much as an artist, but more as an aspiring courtier. In keeping with his role as courtier, Bernini read what his patrons read.[39]

Of course, owning the books is one thing, and reading them is another. Since Bernini was sculptor and architect, instead of painter, it is not so easy a matter of finding pictorial references to specific written texts, as is the case with Rembrandt or Rubens. There are clues among Bernini's drawings which show Bernini using his copy of Serlio as a guide to his study of the Pantheon, or among the diary entries of Chantelou in which

Bernini praises Peruzzi's plan for St. Peter's printed in Serlio's treatise.[40] Tod Marder has noted echoes of Serlio's words in remarks Bernini made in France and notes that Bernini's letters mention trips to the large private libraries in Rome.[41] Brendan Dooley has found evidence that the young Bernini borrowed books in the 1620s from a library at S. Prassede, failing to return a copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.[42]

As for the books that were not listed in the 1681 inventory, many of them are referenced by Chantelou. Chantelou describes Bernini with the highest forms of praise as a learned man and booklover. In his diary of Bernini's visit to France, Chantelou indicates at several times which books Bernini owned and which books he favored. According to Chantelou, Bernini praised Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, adding that it was the preferred reading of St. Ignatius Loyola. Bernini also declared that *An Introduction to a Devout Life* by St. Francis de Sales was the favorite book of Alexander VII.[43] We know also that Bernini was presented with a copy of Fréart's *Parallèle* by its author, and Chantelou even relates the exact manner of the transaction.[44] Of course, the fact that Fréart was Chantelou's brother accounts for the details of the story.

As *the* Baroque sculptor, Bernini's library is the only one of any note and the only big one belonging to a sculptor that has an inventory. There is one other sculptor's inventory of note, which indicates that for some artists, private libraries brought not only the well-deserved appreciation of learnedness, but more life-changing results. A Genoese sculptor Domenico Parodi is described by his student and biographer Giuseppe Ratti in his additions to Soprani's *Lives of the Genoese Artists* as follows:

> Domenico was a lover of letters and sciences and had spent all he could earn on costly books. He had formed a rich library of over seven hundred rare volumes,

> among which he passed the greater part of his time heedless of what he lost by this distraction from his profession. Among those books there were a few which dealt with metallurgy and the fallacious way of making gold.[45]

We learn later in the biography that Parodi was poisoned by 'venomous vapors' while doing alchemistic experiments. Thus books could be dangerous and bring disaster to their enthusiasts…[46]

Spain

Spain could be considered a microcosm of Italy in terms of artist libraries in the seventeenth century. The collecting practices of Spanish *settecento* painters were similar to their Italian counterparts, though we have only two inventories of Spanish artist libraries. El Greco's modest library is the first of these two, and is comparable in size to the library of Carlo Maderno.

When Jorge Manuel Theotokopoulos compiled the inventory of his possessions on the occasion of his second marriage in 1621 he included twenty-one brief titles of "libros de arquitetura."[47] In the list Jorge Manuel had made of his father Domenikos's library shortly after the latter's death in 1614 there were "diez y nuebe libros de arquitetura."[48] It has been generally accepted that the nineteen architectural books which Jorge Manuel inherited from his father El Greco were included among the twenty-one titles he listed in this inventory seven years later. The inventory was not itemized.

The second Spanish painter whose library appears in inventoried form is Diego Velazquez, the quintessential Spanish Golden Age painter. Velazquez is not usually

considered a learned painter, in spite of the much-debated iconography of some of his pictures, notably *Las Meninas*. It was Antonio Palomino de Castro who eventually in 1724 pointed out the range of Velazquez's book collection.

> Velazquez read various authors who had written outstanding instructions about painting; he studied the symmetry of the human body in the works of Albert Dürer, anatomy in Andrea Vesalius, physiognomy in Giovanni Battista della Porta, perspective in Daniel Barbaro, geometry in Euclid, arithmetic in Moya, architecture in Vitruvius, Vignola and the other authors, from whose works, with the most convenient and perfect things for his own use and for the benefit of posterity…etc, etc.'[49]

An inventory of Velazquez's book possessions was published by Francisco Rodriguez Marin in 1923 and republished with commentaries by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón. This inventory proves how truthful Palomino's account was, as the inventory numbers 154 volumes.[50] However, both Marin and Cantón suggest that Velazquez was gifted the majority of his library by his friend Francisco Pacheco, the main contributor to seventeenth-century Spanish art theory.[51]

Marin's inventory shows the wide range of Velazquez's interests, which included fields such as philosophy, cosmology, cosmography and chronography, topography and hydraulics, sundial theory, history, archaeology and shipbuilding, methods of horseback riding (which would be critical to Velazquez's numerous accurate equestrian portraits) and the art of hunting, mythology and iconography. Poetry is poorly represented by only Horace and Ovid in Spanish translations and Petrarch and Ariosto in Italian. Italian humanistic literature was represented by the old stand-by, Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*. Unlike in Bernini's impressive library, literary works are scarce in Velazquez's collection, and there is almost nothing belonging to religious and devotional writing.

The Netherlands: Theory and Development of the Artist Library

Similar to the waxing and waning of the hegemony of Italian art, the Italian artist's library fell into a similar pattern in the Early Modern period. The Italians may have cornered the market on beauty and style in art, but if there was one country who excelled in commerce in the seventeenth century it was the Netherlands. And despite the intellectual pretensions of artists with libraries, there was a strong economic basis to the book trade that reached its *settecento* zenith far from Mediterranean shores.

When Florence and other court cities of Italy resisted printed book-production, in favor of protecting the craft of manuscripts, other cities quickly developed as publishing centers. A few entrepreneurs, taking advantage of the courtly resistance, soon began producing books for the markets and for trading. For this reason it was no accident that in Italy Aldus Manutius established his press in Venice, somewhat removed from the traditionalist courts of Renaissance Italy, and that the new bookmaking processes flourished best in Germany and the Netherlands.[52]

The role of the book in Netherlandish history helps to explain how books were intrinsic to the material culture surrounding Rembrandt and his peers. The history of publishing is inseparable from the culture and international commercial development of the Netherlands.[53] Their production of books was a major industry. The educational process at the highest level was the humanist emphasis on ancient literature and theory as

the foundation for all learning. Within the popular culture, the same process was diluted and accessible in the vernacular.[54]

Furthermore, the Dutch had the highest literacy rate in Europe in the seventeenth century. One major reason for this was the strong mercantile economy. Amsterdam's literacy rate has been estimated at seventy percent during the later seventeenth century.[55]

As Dolce's *Aretino* was brought to bear witness to the need for well-read Italian artists, so Franciscus Junius put forth a similar call to Northern artists. The leading English art theorist of his day, Junius's *De picture veterum* is a monument of erudition, proof of the importance of classical authors for building up a systematic art theory. The English version of *De picture veterum* itself was surely much too difficult for the average artist of the seventeenth century to be widely read by him. The Dutch translation, also made by the learned author and published in 1641, was certainly not addressed to the humanists and scholars fluent in Latin who could read the original, but to the painters.[56]

However elevated his own art-theory may have been, Junius appreciated the role of erudition in the creations of painters:

> A perfect and exactly handled invention must bud forth out of a great and well rooted fulnesse of learning: we must be conversant in all sorts of studies, all antiquitie must be familiar unto us, but most of all the innumerable multitude of historicall and poëticall narrations: we must likewise be very wel acquainted with all such commotions of the mind as by nature are incident unto men: seeing the whole force of painting doth principally consist in them, and nothing beareth a greater sway in such a manifold varietie of pictures and statues.[57]

However, Junius was not a proponent for artists hiding themselves away in their libraries.

> No question then but an Artist must know all manner of naturall things perfectly: not that he is for a great while of time to buckle himselfe wholly to his studie, and to examine there in private the severall opinions of naturall and moral Philosophers about these affections and passions of man; nor yet that he is to trouble his braine with every curious geometricall demonstration: for it sufficeth that he doe but learne by a daily observation how severall passions and affections of the minde doe alter the countenance of man…To a learned and wise imitator every man is a booke.[58]

Junius might not have approved of large artist libraries. With typical Junius sensibility, he would have seen such a library as an extravagant and unnecessary waste of money that could be better spent on paints and travels.

The overall situation for artist libraries in the Netherlands is that Dutch artists owned a small number of books, on average between twenty and forty. Information about artists' books may be gleaned from standard inventories, usually made at the time of death in order to settle the estate. First studied by Abraham Bredius, these often elusive documents are still accessible primarily through his massive compilation, the *Künstler-Inventar*.[59] Of the several hundred inventories published by Bredius, only eighteen contain significant holdings of books.[60]

Bredius's Artist Libraries

Two prominently impressive libraries of Bredius's eighteen artists belonged to the relatively obscure painters, Cornelis Dusart and Coenraet Adriensz. Schilperoort, though the reasons for their collections are now obscure. As for building up such superlative libraries that immediately stand out among the great book collections of the Dutch

painters, Dusart and Schilperoort instantly appear at the forefront.[61] Several collection patterns are evident among these eighteen libraries.

Bialostocki has grouped the itemized books of these eighteen libraries into coherent categories, counting occurrences of common titles. The classical authors represented are Ovid, Plutarch and Virgil with three volumes each. Homer's *Iliad* appears twice, the *Odyssey* once and Vitruvius and Aesop's *Fables* twice each. Philosophy is represented only by Descartes' *Meditationes* and Boëtius. As for religious treatises, Calvin appears seven times while Luther and Jacob Böhme only one time each.

Books bearing direct professional interest were more numerous. Van Mander's *Schilderboek* has the lead, appearing fourteen times, though it should be remembered that it included the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which may account for its popularity as well as the unusually small incidence of Ovids. Dürer is found six times, Serlio seven times, Junius four times and Palladio and Lairesse are found three times each.[62]

Cornelis Dusart possessed a multi-faceted library in which Bischop's *Signorum veterum icones* sides with Aesop's *Fables*, and where books on riding and on horses appear along with Sandrart's *Roman Antiquities*.[63] Dusart owned the only copy of Descartes enumerated above, displaying a rather daring interest in controversial modern theory. He owned a very complete series of art-theoretical and art-historiographic publications.

Among these art books were Vincenzo Scamozzi's *L'idea dell'architettura universale*, Dürer's book on human proportions, Hendrik Hondius's odd tableau-book known as the *Instruction in the art of the perspective*, van Mander's *Schilderboek*,

Cornelis de Bie's *The Golden Cabinet*, Gerard Lairesses's foundations of drawing (also called the *Schilderboek*), D. Roseboom's *Perspective,* Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot der hoge schoole der schilderkonst...,* Franciscus Junius's *De pictura veterum*, Willem Goeree's *D'Algemeene Bouwkunde* and his *Inleydinge tot de Algemeene Teyken-Konst,* Abraham Bosse's *Traicté des manières de la gravure en bois* (the first treatise on etching and engraving), and van der Gracht's *Anatomy of the Outer Parts of the Human Body*.

Aside from this carefully enumerated list, at one point in the inventory its author writes "en honderden boeken meer!" The use of "hundreds" indicates that Dusart's was a library unrivalled by any other seventeenth-century painter. Another notation in the inventory describes "Very numerous descriptions of travels, history books and poets."[64] This is the first instance of travel literature that we have encountered in artist library inventories. These travel histories began as tales of New World exploration, and by Dusart's time has morphed into comfortable descriptions of Grand Tour luxuries.

Some of the poets referenced above were itemized, with particular attention given to Bredero's *Groot Liedboek*, Beverwyk's *Werken*, the *Iliad* and Aesop's *Fables*, which probably bore impressive illustrations. The presence of famous Dutch contemporary poetry represents another departure. In keeping with the humanistic traditions inherited from the Romans and Greeks and imported by the Italians, it was common in many Dutch libraries to only represent the classics such as Ovid and the modern Italians such as Dante and Petrarch. The presence of Berdero and Beverwyk indicate a thriving Dutch effort to publish local material, and a matched effort on the part of collectors to buy it.

Having accounted for one copy of the *Iliad* in Dusart's collection, it is important to note that the second copy out of all eighteen artist libraries belonged to Coenraet Schilperoort. Schilperoort died twenty-five years before Dusart's birth, so the two men were not contemporaries by any stretch of the mind. Schilperoort is not known to us as a painter since no works by him have been identified, though they do appear in old inventories.[65] We also know that he must have been a painter of some repute, as Jan van Goyen was apprenticed to him at the age of ten.[66]

Schilperoort's poetry collection was richer than Dusart's, including Petrarch, Boccaccio, Sebastian Brant's *Het Narrenschiff*, the *Aeneid*, the *Iliad*, the *Nederlandse Helicon* and the sole copy of the *Odyssey* among our eighteen collections. He owned Tacitus, Pliny, Plutarch, books on theology, rhetorical treatises, travel books (among other descriptions, of travels to Turkey, Jerusalem and Moscow) and religious literature. He also owned the complete eighteen parts of the famed romance *Amadis de Gaule*. Schilperoort's religious books were not just Protestant, which was a rarity in the Reformation-Era Netherlands. He owned the Proceedings of the Council of Trent, an edition of the Bulls of Clement VIII and other similar papist works. The presence of these books cannot be explained by the little we know of Schilperoort's life, though one wonders what would have befallen the painter had the authorities discovered such books among his possessions.

Dissimilar from many cases, Schilperoort's inventory was compiled not after his death but upon the event of his divorce in February of 1632. The inventory was of such an exacting nature that we know that some people had borrowed books at this time. Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaeorum* was lent to the Leiden painter Bailly, while

the works of the sixteenth-century religious philosopher Sebastian Franck had been lent to Rembrandt's first teacher Jacob van Swanenburgh.[67]

Rembrandt's Library

While the libraries of lesser-known artists are interesting in their scope, it is also instructive to investigate the librarys of the Netherlands' best and brightest. Rembrandt's library makes an interesting case-study. His book collection is shabby in comparison to either Schilperoort's or Dusart's, but it more closely approximates that of the average seventeenth-century painter. The bulk of what appears in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory in the section called 'A Set of Art Books' is collections of prints bound together and forming the *oeuvres* of prominent Italian artists. Bialostocki declares Rembrandt's eight books that contained text to comprise a fairly limited library, especially when we consider the range of subjects, characters, stories, dress and props in Rembrandt's paintings.[68]

Amy Golahny delivers an in-depth view of Rembrandt's modest library. Her goals, in her own words, are "to demonstrate what was commonly available and to recreate concisely the literary material that fueled Rembrandt's image-making process in his narrative secular themes."[69] The evidence gathered by Golahny is dependent upon print culture, and the analyses take into account Rembrandt's milieu, biographical circumstances and contacts. The imminently valuable inventory produced in 1656 on the occasion of Rembrandt's declaration of bankruptcy (known as the *cession honorum*) is

the primary document cataloging Rembrandt's possessions.[70] This inventory provides an abbreviated list of Rembrandt's books.

Most scholars surmise that Rembrandt must have sold off a good deal of his library by the time the inventory was made, in efforts to forestall his bankruptcy.[71] In the seventeenth century, small un-illustrated books indeed were cheap, but larger publications, especially with illustrations, were relatively expensive.[72] The selling prices of these books were predictable, for they were determined by the cost of paper and the wages of the compositors and printers. For grand volumes, often with illustrations in woodcut or copper plate, the costs were significantly higher. Illustrated volumes in folio or quarto typically cost two to five guilders.[73]

Rembrandt's books were housed in his *kunstkammer*, a prominent feature of the houses of many educated Early Modern men. This paper's scope does not encompass a detailed history of the *kunstkammer*, so a brief description will suffice. The *kunstkammer*, often conflated with the similar *wunderkammer*, was essentially a space where precious works of art or other such treasures were held and often displayed in a private house. The most famous and impressive *kunstkammern* were those of Early Modern European royalty, such as Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II and Albert V, Duke of Bavaria. These *kunstkammern* contained a wealth of eclectic objects, from masterpieces by the most well-known painters, to miniature sculptures designed for the intimate *kunstkammer* setting, to narwhal horns, mounted insects, gems and minerals, and stuffed alligators.

Wealthy private citizens modeled their own collections on those of the royals, though on a more modest scale. These non-royal collections tended to focus more on

naturalia, since Titian paintings were rarer and pricier than mollusk shells and plant specimens from the New World. *Kunstkammern* were also meant to reflect the tastes and pursuits of their owners, which explains why Rembrandt's own modest collection held many more drawing albums than text-based books.[74] According to the 1656 inventory, Rembrandt owned the following eight items that contained printed texts:

1) Jan Six's *Medea*, a tragedy, "*d'Medea van Jan Six, treurspel*"
2) *All Jerusalem* by Jacques Callot, "*Gants Jerusalem van Jacob Calot*"
3) Albrecht Dürer's book on proportion, with woodcuts, " *'t proportie boeck van Albert Durer, houtsnee*"
4) Fifteen books in different formats, "*15 boecken in verscheijde formaeten*"
5) A German book with war illustrations, "*Een Hoogduyts boeck met oorlochs figueren*"
6) Ditto with woodcut illustrations, "*Een ditto met hout figuren* [sic]"
7) A Flavius Josephus in German, illustrated by Tobias Stimmer, "*Een hoogduytsche Flavio Fevus, gestoffeert met figueren van Tobias Timmerman*"
8) An old Bible, "*Een oude bijbel*"

These seven items listed singly and fifteen items grouped together total twenty-two individual books, and comprised Rembrandt's known library.

Of the seven single items, four are readily identified through their assigned authors or illustrators; these are books with illustrations by Rembrandt, Dürer, Callot or Stimmer.[75] The Bible may or may not have been illustrated. The two remaining singly-listed items, numbers 5 and 6 from the above list, may be tentatively identified through evidence in Rembrandt's own work.[76] The fifteen books grouped together were most likely quarto size or smaller and without notable illustrations.[77]

Rembrandt owned *Gants Jerusalem van Jacob Calot* (number 2 on the above list), a book valued for its maps, buildings and plans of Jerusalem that were the sites of Christian importance. The 1656 inventory attaches Callot's name to this book, despite

the fact that Callot was the engraver and not the author. This book was written by Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli. Rembrandt's copy was the second edition, in which the original etchings by Antonio Tempesta had been copied and reduced to fit the quarto format.[78] Callot's name is not mentioned prominently in the book itself, and his name may have been appended to the book in the inventory as a matter of convenient attribution.[79] As one of the foremost engravers of the Early Modern era, Callot's name was instantly more recognizable than Amico's to an artist.

Dürer was the northern Renaissance exemplar of both the practice and theory of art. In Rembrandt's 1656 inventory, " *'t proportie boeck van Albert Durer, houtsnee*" was placed among albums of prints and drawings, and between an album filled with sketches by Rembrandt and an album with prints by Jan Lievens and Ferdinand Bol.[80] Dürer's prints, better known than his paintings in the Netherlands, established the northern Renaissance ideal in portraiture and religious imagery. His two books on human proportion, measurement and perspective established a theoretical approach to the figure.[81]

For Rembrandt, Dürer's book on human proportion, titled by Dürer as *Vier Bücher von Menschlicher Proportion*, may have been useful for both theoretical and practical purposes. It is likely that Rembrandt owned the only edition that was a Dutch translation, published in 1622. Similar to the example of the *Gants Jerusalem*, the images of Dürer's proportion book may have been more important than the text. However, the text of Dürer's proportion book was designed purposively to guide artists in the art of figure drawing, and thus is a more direct artistic tool than the *Jerusalem*.

First published in Strassburg in 1574, Conrad Lautenbach's German text of Josephus with Stimmer's woodcuts was reprinted fourteen times by 1630.[82] This edition, which was Rembrandt's edition, included all of Josephus' works: *Antiquities of the Jews*, *Wars of the Jews*, *Against Apion*, *Destruction of the Jews*, *Maccabees* and *Life of Josephus*. Rembrandt did not expressly know German, though it is a similar enough language to Dutch to present no major difficulties. The works of Josephus were readily available in Dutch, but either lacking completely, or with less favorable illustrations. Rembrandt certainly read the Josephus, and his own graphic works reflect his study of the woodcuts by Stimmer.

Josephus' *Antiquities* and *Wars* repeated and enlarged many of the episodes in the Old and New Testaments, and Apocrypha. Few episodes related by Josephus were not also in the Bible or recounted by later historians. Most significantly, Josephus validated the divine word of the Old and New Testaments as history. For artists, Josephus' unusual details and psychological insight lent depth to the portrayals of familiar stories.[83] Golahny suggests that Rembrandt likely consulted the Josephus for unusual subjects or variants of the biblical narrative.[84] For example, the episode of Rembrandt's 1635 painting of *King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy* appears in Josephus' *Antiquities*, but not in the Old Testament (Fig. 1).

Rembrandt's small library was but one tool in the greater schema of his strange collection, consulting the images and stories therein for compositional and narrative guidance. In reality, Rembrandt's passion was for art collecting, rather than book-hunting. He bought prints and drawings at auction, and acquired costumes, weapons, and exotic items at the Amsterdam markets. His art collection was kept alongside the

miscellany of useful paraphernalia in his house, according to the 1656 inventory, and the books joined them there.[85]

Art Theorists Advice to Artists

The art theorists who held sway over Rembrandt and his contemporaries generally agreed with Rembrandt's approach to collecting. However, as the satellite around which all other Golden Age Dutch artists orbited, it would be hard to expect the theorists to disagree with anything Rembrandt did. There existed differences in the theorists' opinions on whether artists should possess libraries, but these were differences of degree.

Titling his advice *Wat Boeken men behoorte lesen*, Willem Goeree suggested to artists four broad categories of books to familiarize themselves with: history, poetry and philosophy, ancient customs and practical techniques.[86] Although Goeree counseled artists to seek out books for expertise, he did not emphasize this advice as other authors did. Junius, who was taken very seriously by Dutch artists, "did not expect book learning to be a substitute for the practice of art as a craft, but rather, as a means of raising art to the level of other professions in which knowledge of history, nature, and poetry played crucial roles."[87] For most artists, reading played a support role in the making of images. It was not the quantity of reading that mattered, or concomitantly the size of the library, but the process and the result as manifested in the paintings.

In the Dutch art literature, it was an oft-repeated piece of advice to artists that they know the histories well, as de Grebber's *Regulen* asserted. It was only through book

learning that artists could become experts in the histories they depicted. Karel van Mander's *Schilderboeck* contained abbreviated myths and a brief guide to the representation of the pagan gods and allegorical figures, but no broader scope for guidance in historical matters. Van Mander presumed that the artists he was advising were fairly well-educated. To successfully create history paintings, an artist would need expertise in historical knowledge of events, customs and costumes.[88]

Similar to van Mander, Philips Angel, in his address in Leiden on St. Luke's Day in 1641, emphasized the necessity for artists to be well-versed in both the practice of art and the knowledge of histories in order to portray their subjects accurately. In the *Lof der Schilderkonst*, Angel proposed eight main requirements that a good painter must possess; the first concerned having good judgment, and the eighth, expertise in historical matters.[89] In discussing at length this eighth requirement, Angel gave five examples to demonstrate the varying rigor with which artists displayed their knowledge of histories.

As an example of the need for expertise in the unique circumstances pertaining to a story, Angel related how one unnamed artist painted the prophet Elijah and the widow of Zarephat in a verdant landscape, an event that is related in *Kings* I:17. The biblical story takes place during a time of extreme drought and famine, so theoretically the artist was obligated to set the scene in a parched, sun-burnt terrain. Instead, this anonymous artist painted well-watered plants and trees, fat cattle, working mills and a cloudy sky pregnant with rain.[90] Angel reprimanded the artist for his error in depicting such a fecund landscape when the text clearly indicated otherwise. "He could easily have avoided this if he had but opened the Bible again,…taking heed of what the prophet said

there."[91] In order to avoid being ridiculed by the likes on Angel, artists could make their paintings according to their own invention, but they could not be inaccurate.

Angel singled out four artists for their obvious display of learning in their work: Rembrandt, Jan Lievens, Johann Jakob Backer and Dirck Bleecker.[92] After praising Rembrandt's *Samson's Wedding Feast* for its faithful depiction of the subject according to *Judges* XIV:10, Angel mentioned the specifics that truly won his admiration: Samson with long hair and gestures appropriate to telling his riddle, the benches upon which the guests are seated with their legs raised, and the merriment and accompanying food and drink. Angel's praise was won by the intensity with which Rembrandt studied the narrative that led to such a compelling and accurate visual effect (Fig. 2).[93]

The most crucial goal of an artist's learnedness was the avoidance of careless error. Errors were essentially of two kinds, narrative content and perceptual observation. The former variety of error was exemplified by the case of the anonymous painting of Elijah and Zarephat. However, Angel allowed that the deviation from a text was acceptable if the variation enhanced the story, as in the case of Bathsheba reading a letter, a motif that was rendered by several Dutch artists including Rembrandt and Lievens (Fig. 3).

As an example of the second kind of error, that of perceptual observation, Angel cited the speed of moving wagon wheels. He remarked that when depicting a fast-moving carriage, the spokes of the wheels should blur together. Angel noted a painting of Pluto abducting Persephone by another unnamed artist in which the wheels not spinning at a great speed, making the abduction look like quite a leisurely affair.[94]

Gerard de Lairesse also extolled the virtues of a learned artist. Knowing the histories was key in his opinion, siding with van Mander and Angel. "All particulars must be attentively considered…for which purpose reading and books are necessary."[95] De Lairesse was critical of artists who blindly followed the pictorial formulas of their predecessors without creating original compositions. He regarded it as easier for the artist to consult visual sources than to read texts and devise original images. De Lairesse exhorted artists to read in order to remedy the poverty of their imaginations.[96]

However, de Lairesse also believed that the Bible, Homer, Virgil and Ovid were sufficient reading for artists.[97] In addition to the above texts that should be read many times in full, de Lairesse suggested many more authors to be consulted as the occasion might demand. These authors included, but were not limited to, Apuleius, Tasso, Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, Herodotus, Philostratus, Claudian, Cicero and Macrobius.[98] For Lairesse, to read well did not necessarily mean reading a great quantity of texts. Rather, it meant reading the most appropriate texts with care and imagination.

Conclusion

Judging from what we glean from seventeenth-century art theorists, do we find it surprising that those artists whose work survived the test of time and wound up in our art history survey texts were not the ones with the largest and most impressive libraries? Not especially. Being the most well-read or the most dedicated to collecting classical or art-theoretical texts does not make the greatest artist. Being a learned artist and choosing

subject matter wisely is crucial, but pales in comparison with other artistic gifts such as technical mastery, composition and enterprise.

Each of the five reasons I proposed for why artists formed libraries were demonstrated in this paper. The acquisition of social status and intellectual status, the accretion of technical knowledge, the compositional inspiration and assistance with subject matter and iconography provided by a private library could not be matched by any other one attribute. Through their libraries, artists sought to better their works and themselves.

[2] For a complete translation and scholarly interpretation of Leonardo's *paragone* debates, see: Farago, Claire J. *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone : a critical interpretation with a new edition of the text in the Codex Urbinas.* Leiden , New York : E.J. Brill, 1992.
[3] Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo della pittura di Lodovico Dolce intitolato L'Aretino*. Venice : Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1557. p. 129.
[4] Lee, Rensselaer W. *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*. New York : Norton, 1967., p. vii.
[5] Ibid., p. 14.
[6] Schlosser, Julius von. *Kunstliteratur*. Vienna : A. Schroll & Co., 1924., p. 475.
[7] Steinitz, Kate T. "Early Art Bibliographies: Who Compiled the First Art Bibliography?", *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol. 114, no. 837 (Dec. 1972), pp. 829-837.,p. 829.
[8] Scaramuccia, Luigi. *Le finezze de pennelli italiani*. Pavia : G.A. Magri, Stampatore, 1674., pp. 195-196 and 217-219.
[9] *Trattato della Pittura di Leonardo da Vinci, novamente dato in luce con la vita dell'istesso autore, scritta da Raffaelle du Fresne. Si sono giunti I tre libri della pittura, et il trattato della statua di Leon Battista Alberti, con la vita del medesimo*. Paris : Langlois, 1651.
[10] Steinitz, p. 830.
[11] Piles, Roger de. *Remarques sur le poème de Ch. Alphonse Dufresnoy*, in : Alphonse Dufresnoy, *L'école d'Uranie ou l'art de la peinture*…édition revue et corrigée par Sieur M. de Querlon, Paris : P.G. Le Mercier, 1753., pp.102-107.
[12] Armenini, Giovanni Battista. *De'veri precetti della pittura*. Ravenna : Apresso Francesco Tebaldini, 1586., p. 234f.
[13] Lomazzo, Gian Paolo. *Idea del tempio della pittura*. Milan : Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1590., p. 81f.
[14] Bialostocki, pp. 12-13.
[15] Bialostocki, p. 16.
[16] Gombrich, Ernst H. "The Renaissance Concept of Artistic Progress and Its Consequences" in *Actes du XVIIme Congrés International d'Histoire de l'Art, Amsterdam, 1952*. La Haye, 1955., p.296.
[17] Scaglia, Gustina: "Lorenzo (di Cione) Ghiberti" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [29 March 2006], http://www.groveart.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/.
[18] Hibbard, Howard. *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*. London : Zwemmer, 1971., p. 98, 103.
[19] Bialostocki, p. 15.
[20] Passeri, Giovanni Battista. *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti che hanno lavorato in Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673*. Rome : G. Settari, 1772., p. 174 verso.
[21] Connors, Joseph. *Borromini and the Roman Oratory. Style and Society*. New York, London : Architectural History Foundation, 1980., p. 140. The inventory of 1667 is reprinted in *Ragguagli Borrominiani, Mostra Documentaria*, Catalogo a cura de Marcello del Piazzo. Rome : Ministero dell'Interno. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, LXI, 1968., pp. 163-176.
[22] Wittkower, Rudolf. "Francesco Borromini: Personalità e destino," in *Studi sul Borromini. Atti del Convegno Promosso dall'Accademia Nazionale di S. Luca,* I. Rome : De Luca Editore,1967., p.23.
[23] Bialostocki, p. 14.
[24] Noehles, Karl. *La chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina nell'opera di Pietro da Cortona*, con contribute di Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta e Carlo Pietrangeli. Rome : Saggi e Studi di Storia dell'Arte, 3, 1970., p. pp. 365-367.
[25] Conveniently reprinted in Harris, Ann Sutherland. *Andrea Sacchi*. Oxford : Phaidon, 1977., pp. 123-125.
[26] Ibid., p. 124.
[27] Borsi, Franco, Cristina Acidini Luchinat and F. Quinterio. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Il testamento, la casa, la raccolta dei beni.* Florence : Alinea,1981., p. 12.
[28] McPhee, Sarah. "Bernini's Books", *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol. 142, 2000, pp. 442-448., p. 442. Also see Bialostocki, p. 15.

[29] Chantelou, P. Fréart de. *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, ed. Anthony Blunt. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1985., pp. 111 and 138-139.
[30] McPhee, p. 442.
[31] Ibid., p. 442.
[32] Ibid., p. 443.
[33] Sabbatini, Nicola. *Pratica di Fabricar Scene, e machine ne'Teatri*. Rome : C. Bestetti, 1638.
[34] McPhee, p. 443.
[35] Marder, Tod A. *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace. Architecture, Sculpture, and Ritual*. Cambridge and New York : Cambridge University Press, 1997., p. 231.
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[62] Bialostocki, p. 17. Bialostocki provides the break-down of how many volumes of which texts were found in these 18 libraries.
[63] Bredius, I, pp. 42, 52-54.
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[67] Bredius, p.52.
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[70] The 1656 inventory, which is the only full inventory of Rembrandt's possessions that survives, was first published by Nieuwenhuys in 1834; it was republished several times during the nineteenth century, and edited systematically by C. Hofstede de Groot in 1906. It has since been republished with the Hofstede de Groot numbers by Strauss 1656/12 and J. van der Veen in Amsterdam 1999, 147 ff.
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[96] Ibid., part I, p. 45.
[97] Ibid., part I, p. 46.
[98] Ibid., part II, p. 184.h

Image List

1) Rembrandt, *King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy*, 1635, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire

2) Rembrandt, *Samson's Wedding Feast*, 1638, State Art Collections Dresden, Germany

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